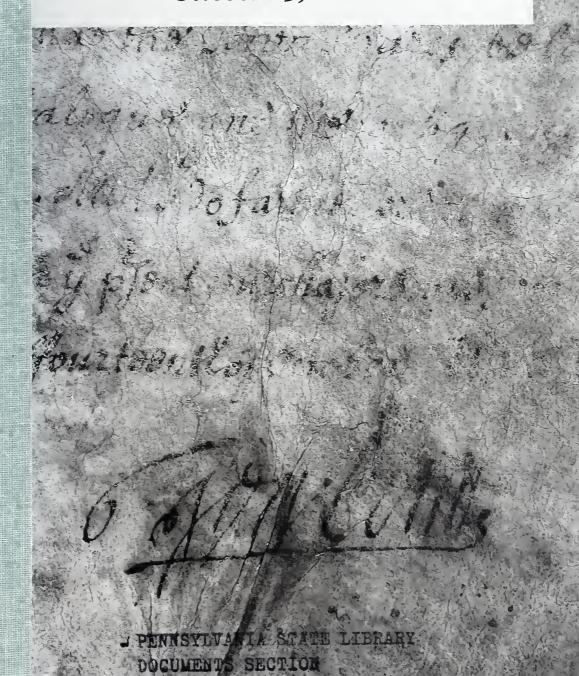
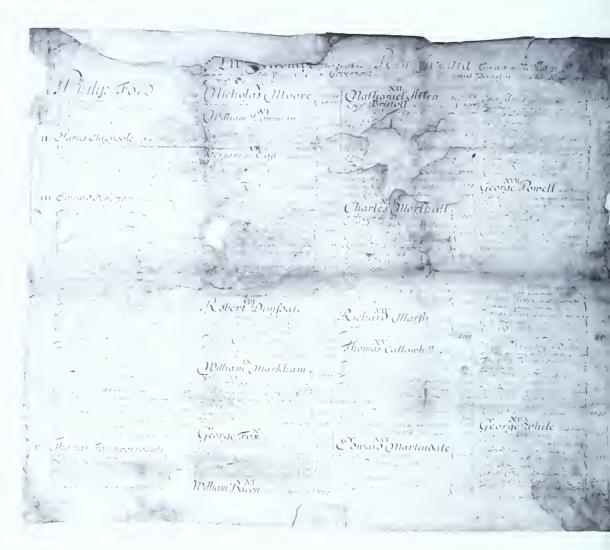


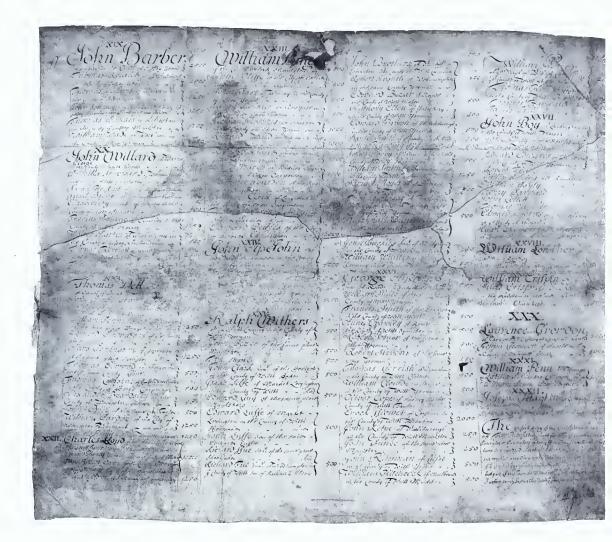
The First Purchasers of Pennsylvania October 25, 1681





The First Purchasers of Pennsylvania, page one.

In 2002, through the generosity of the Haley Foundation of New Hope, Pennsylvania the fragile parchment pages were conserved at the Conservation Center for Art and Historic Artifacts in Philadelphia.



The First Purchasers of Pennsylvania, page two.



The First Purchasers of Pennsylvaníka October 25, 1681

This document is the earliest known compilation of people who purchased acreage directly from William Penn in the months immediately following receipt of his March 4, 1681 Charter from King Charles II for the land destined to be the colony of Pennsylvania. These approximately 260 men and women bought acreage in what are now Philadelphia, Bucks, Delaware, and Chester Counties. The purchases were sold in thirty-two groups, intended to be 10,000 acres each, and the document is divided into thirty-two sections. There are discrepancies in that this list does not add up to exactly 320,000 acres. Most people bought 125, 250, 500, or 1,000 acres each, at a cost of £1 for each fifty acres. In addition, each purchaser received gratis a lot or lots in the layout of Philadelphia and its adjoining liberties area, in the ratio of one city acre for each fifty in their rural purchase. The location of the acreage, including the city lots, was assigned by Penn's administrators; the buyers did not get to choose their lands.

The "First Purchasers" list was probably completed by Penn or his agents just days before two of his Land Commissioners, John Bezer and Nathaniel Allen, sailed for the colony on the *Bristol Factor* in late October 1681 to survey and lay out acreage for the purchasers. It is likely this document sailed with them, landing at New Castle, Delaware, on December 15, 1681. A third commissioner, William Crispin, sailing separately, was blown off course, and landed in Barbados where he died shortly thereafter. A fourth, William Haige, arrived in Pennsylvania late in 1681. Penn himself added notations for the commissioners and signed the bottom right hand corner of page two. He sailed for Pennsylvania for the first time August 30, 1682, almost a year later. This list does not include the Swedish, Dutch, and other English settlers already living west of the Delaware River in 1681.

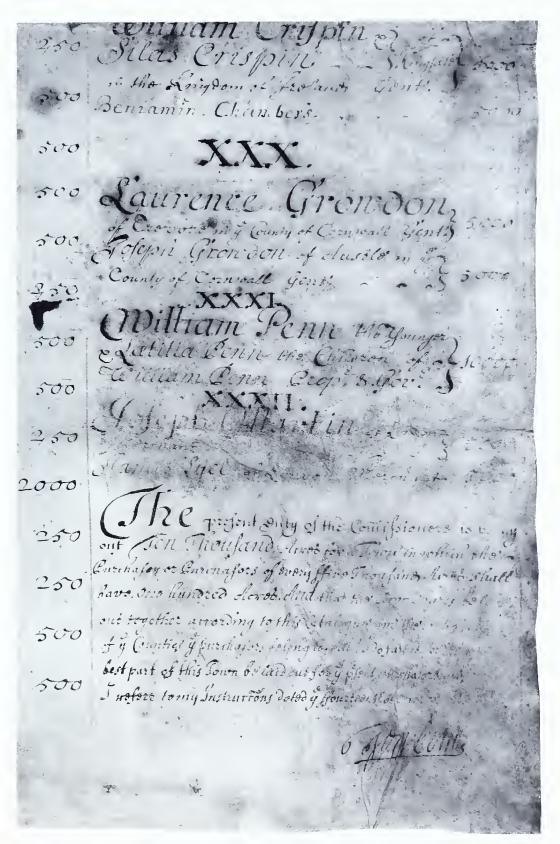
The document is a treasure of historical and genealogical information. Entries include the purchaser's name, home locality, occupation, and the amount of acreage obtained. It is a collective portrait of one group of immigrants to America, their lives and times. Most of the purchasers were English, from all over the British Isles, especially the London area, and were largely middle class tradesfolk. All were members of the Religious Society of Friends, otherwise known as Quakers. Some, like Caleb Pusey, a London glassmaker, settled in 1682 near Upland (Chester) in Delaware County, where his home, visited on several occasions by Penn himself, still stands. Others, like George Fox, founder and leader of the Society of Friends, chose not to leave England, but bought some Pennsylvania land and therefore a part of Penn's vision. A second list of purchasers that included names from the first, plus additional buyers, was prepared by Penn May 22, 1682, and is published in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, Volume 1.

The list was retained in the records of the Land Office, the first unit of government established by Penn, for it appears on a 1748 survey of Land Office documents by Chief Surveyor Richard Peters. The list of purchasers is inscribed on two 23"X 27 1/2" pages of parchment, probably calf or sheepskin, written with iron gall ink, a common media at the time for official documents. Before conservation treatment in early 2002, the pages were in extremely poor condition with gaping holes in each and large tears completely through the body of page two. Much of this damage certainly existed by July 21, 1763, when the pages were recorded in their entirety in the Office of Land Records Patent Book AA, volume 5, pages 130-39, by Master of the Rolls Charles Brockden. Brockden wrote in the Patent Book's margin, among other notations, "a Hole in the Original Ocasioned I suppose by the Eat of Mice." Brockden also recorded a third page, containing Penn's instructions to the commissioners, now lost. During the mid-twentieth century, the verso of each page was "silked," an obsolete method of preservation that glued translucent silk fabric to a fragmented item to hold it together. The original document was transferred to the Pennsylvania State Archives from the Bureau of Land Records, Department of Internal Affairs in 1957. It is stored in a special climate controlled vault.

All previous published versions of the first purchasers list are derived from the 1763 copy. The transcript that follows was made directly from the original, and Brockden's commentaries on the poor condition of the parchment at various places, made in the margins of the 1763 version, are included here. Additional information provided by Richard Dunn and Mary Dunn, *The Papers of William Penn, Volume II*, 1680-1684, pp. 630-57, and Hannah Roach, "The First Purchasers of Pennsylvania," in *Passengers and Ships Prior to 1684*, Walter Lee Sheppard, editor.

The text of the now lost third page, present in 1763, is also included. The script is In "old style" and the language of the document contains some words in Middle English, with superscript abbreviations. The symbol "f" for the archaic long "s" is retained for this transcription. Brackets denote contemporary or Brockden's notations. A glossary of selected occupations given in the document and biographical sketches of five representative first purchasers follow the main text. Only fourteen women appear on the list; historical information on them is scant. The transcript was prepared in November 2001 by State Archives volunteer and medieval scholar Denise Van Sandt-Boyd. Biographical sketches prepared by Dr. Louis Waddell. Introduction by Linda A. Ries.

For more information on the Pennsylvania State Archives and its holdings, visit the Web site at www.phmc.state.pa.us



Last column, page two, The First Purchasers of Pennsylvania showing William Penn's signature.

[Verso, page one, top center:]

/seal/ Received in the office for Recording of Deeds for the City & County of Philadelphia in Pat Book AA [?] 5 Pag 130 &c. The 21st Day of July 1763 witness my hand and seal of my office ap C Brockden Rec^{dr} [Verso, page one, left bottom:]

[No 3?] WP}Schedule of Land [Sold?] in England by Wm Penn

[Recto, page one:]

An Accompt of the Land in Pennsylvania Granted by William Penn Esq^{t.} Sole Proprietary & Governour of that Province To several Purchafors within the Kingdom of England. Viz^{t.} To

Acres

I. • Philip Ford of London Merchant .5000 • Thomas Rudyard of London Gent .2000 • The same2000 • Herbert Springet of London Gent .1000
II. • James Claypoole of London Mrchant
III.• Edward Jefferson of Ashwell in the County of Hertford Maulster Thomas Scott of London Taylor John Goodson of London Chirurgeon John Beckly of London Perfumer John Beckly of London Perfumer John Stringfellow of London Clockmaker John Stringfellow of London Taylor Richard Townsend of London Carpenter John Hicks of London Glassmaker John Hicks of London Glassmaker John Hicks of London Taylor Henry Murey of London Taylor Edward Blake of London Turner John William Moore of London Plaisterer John Pusey of London Dyer Henry Sleighton of London Turner John Pusey of London Dyer Thomas Virgoe of London Clockmaker John Allington of London Shoemaker John Allington of London Shoemaker Samuel Bennett of London Flax dresser

 Thomas Cobb of London Shoemaker Thomas Tibbye of London Joyner Elizabeth Shorter of London Glover Amos Nichols of London Distiller John Barber of London Brewer Jonathan Stanmore of London Shoemaker John Spencer of London Taylor Mark Keynton of London Carpenter John Jones of the Parish of S^{t.} Andrews Holbourne London Glover William Boswell of Southwark in the County of Surrey Poulterer Edward Simkins of the same Place Feltmaker 	250 250 250 250 125 125
IV. • Thomas Farmborrough of London Chairmaker • Arent Sonmans of Walliford in the County of Midlothian in the Kingdom of Scotland Gent.	
V.	
Nicholas Moore of London Gent	10000
 William Bowman the Eld^{r.} of Wan[d]sworth in the County of Surrey Glazier Griffith Jones of the Parish called Mary Magdalens Bermondsey in Ye. County of Surrey Glover 	
VII.	
Benjamin Eaft of Brookswharf London Sugar Baker	1250
Salter of London	
Taylor of London	1250
 Joseph Philips Son of y^{e.} said Wm. Philips	
[County of S]ussex Taylor for his Daughter	500
Middx Turner	250
 John Carren of Hedly in y^e. County of Southon Maul^{ster} John Swift of y^e. Town of Southon in y^e. County of [Hants.] 	500
• John Swift of y' Town of Southon in y' County of [Hants.]	500

[Marginalia to the left of the above entries:] These four Lines & a part were in the Original somewhat Obscure The Parchmt. appearing Erazed there tho in y^c same Hand-writing The Figures plain Enough _ C. Brockden Rec^{dr.}

VIII.

 Robert Dimfdale of in Edmenton the County of Middx Chirurgeon Hugh Lamb of the Parish of S^c Martins in the Field in the County of Middx Hosier Thomas Rudyard of London Gent Herbert Springet of London Gent William Rufsel of London Phistian
IX.
 William Markham of London Gent
Х.
 George Fox of London Gent
XI.
• William Bacon of y ^{e.} Middle Temple Lond. Gent
XII.
 Nathaniel Allen of the City of Bristoll Cooper John Hort of the City of Bristoll Curryer Henry Comby of the City of Bristoll Weaver William [Smith of the City] of Bristoll Brafs founder James [lis] Bristoll M'chant Richard [Corsllet] [City of Bristoll] Goldsmith

 Edm[und Bennet] City of Bristoll Tobacco [cutter]
XIII.
 Charles Marfhall of the City of Bristoll Phisitian
XIV.
• Richard Marfh of the City of Bristoll Merchant
 Thomas Callowhill of the City of Bristoll Mercer The same Nathaniel Evans of Thomas Paget of the City of Bristoll Mealman Thomas Pafchall of the City of Bristoll Pewterer Jone Dixon of the City of Bristoll Widdow James Petre John Jennett of the City of Bristoll Silkweaver Roger Drew Edward Erberry of the City of Bristoll Sope boiler William Lane of the City of Bristoll Grocer 500

XVI.

Edward Martindale
of the City of Bristoll Merchant1000
Philip Theodore Leman of the City
of Bristoll Gent
Arnold Brown and
• William Cole of y ^{e.} Custom and
Two more
Peter Young of the City of Bristoll
Sopeboiler
Thomas Bailey of the City of Bristoll
Bodies maker
• Joel Gelson
• John Bristo of the City of Bristol
Thomas Briggs of Hedelston in the
Parish of Acton in the County of Palatine of
Chester Yeoman
George Keith of Edenburgh in the
Kingdom of Scotland Gent
VVII
XVII.
• George Powell of y ^e Parish
of Bucklam in y County of SomersettButcher
• John Clare of Frome Elwood in the
County of Sufsex Butcher
• John Hill of Berbington in the County
of Somersett Shoemaker500
Christopher Forford of Froom
in the County of Somers Wire drawer
• William Beabes of Backwell in y ^c .
County of Somersett Yeoman
Samuel Allen of Chew Magna in
the County of Somersett Shoemaker
Walter King of Haveyard
• John Pafsons of Middlezoy in
the County of Somersett Carpenter&
Abraham Hoope of Bridgewater
in the same County Joiner500
Thomas Pleas of Edenton in the same
County Serge maker
Richard Mills of Bridgewater in
the County of Somersett Taylor
William Salloway of Taunton
Deane in the County of Somersett Sergemaker
• Francis Harfford of the same Place Sergemaker
John Wall of Moorelinch in
the County of Somersett Husbandman and
• John Wallis of the same place Husbandman
• John Coles of Catcott in the Parish
of Moorelinch in the County of Som ^{rs.} Sergemak ^r
• Richard Collins of Bath

XIIX.

 George White of Buckleberry in ye. County of Berks Yeoman
Recto, page two:]
XIX.
 John Barber of Shipley in the County of Sussex Yeom
XX.
• John George Willard of Warre in the County of Sussex Yeom
Thomas Dell of Upton in the County of Bucks Yeom

* JOHN ECHIHIVION OF WOOGSIGE
• John Pennington of Woodside in the Parish of Agmondisham in y ^e .
County of Bucks Gent
of the same place Drugster
• Edward Penington of the same Place
Mary Penington the Younger
of the same place—Spinster
in the same County Gent
• Thomas Couborne of Lambern Woodlands in the county of Berks Carpenter
• Alexander Beardsley of the
County of Worcester Glover
William Pardoe of the City
of Worcester Merchant
XXII. • Charles Lloyd Gent. Richard Davis Gent.
Margarett Ďavis Widdow John Humphrys Gent. Edward Thomas Yeoman All of y ^{e.} County of Mount
gomery Robert Owen Gent.
Lewis Owen Gent. and Rowland Ellis of Merienethshire Gent
Gent
William Powel of Southwark in the County of Surrey
William Powel of Southwark in the County of Surrey
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 William Powel of Southwark in the County of Surrey. XXIII. William Bingly of the City of Oxford Maulster. Anne Oliffe of the City of Oxford Widdow. John Hart of Witney in the County of Oxon Yeom. Joseph Richards of Newgate in the County of Oxon Yeom. Joshua Hasting of Swarford in the County of Oxon Yeom. Joshua Hasting of Swarford in the County of Oxon Yeom. 1000
 William Powel of Southwark in the County of Surrey XXIII. William Bingly of the City of Oxford Maulster Anne Oliffe of the City of Oxford Widdow John Hart of Witney in the County of Oxon Yeom Joseph Richards of Newgate in the County of Oxon Yeom Joshua Hasting of Swarford in the County of Oxon Yeom Joshua Hasting of Swarford in the County of Oxon Yeom Richard Ward of the same place Yeom 1000
 William Powel of Southwark in the County of Surrey. XXIII. William Bingly of the City of Oxford Maulster. Anne Oliffe of the City of Oxford Widdow. John Hart of Witney in the County of Oxon Yeom. Joseph Richards of Newgate in the County of Oxon Yeom. Joshua Hasting of Swarford in the County of Oxon Yeom. Joshua Hasting of Swarford in the County of Oxon Yeom. Richard Ward of the same place Yeom. Richard Hand of the same Place
 William Powel of Southwark in the County of Surrey XXIII. William Bingly of the City of Oxford Maulster Anne Oliffe of the City of Oxford Widdow John Hart of Witney in the County of Oxon Yeom Joseph Richards of Newgate in the County of Oxon Yeom Joshua Hasting of Swarford in the County of Oxon Yeom Richard Ward of the same place Yeom Richard Hand of the same Place Husbandman Joon John March of Neather Hayford
* William Powel of Southwark in the County of Surrey
* William Powel of Southwark in the County of Surrey XXIII. * William Bingly of the City of Oxford Maulster
*William Powel of Southwark in the County of Surrey
* William Powel of Southwark in the County of Surrey XXIII. * William Bingly of the City of Oxford Maulster

• Edward Bettris of the City of Oxford Chirurgeon
XXIV.
 John Ap John of the Parish of Ruabon in the County of Denby Yeoman
XXV.
Ralph Withers of Bishops Canning in the County of
Wilts Yeoman
Maulster
in the County of Wilts Baker500
 Isaac Selfe of Market Lavington in the County of Wilts and Edward Guy of the same Place Maulsters
Lavington in the County of Wilts Shoemaker
• John Luffe Son of the said Edward Luffe
• Richard Fue Sen ^{r.} of the same place Shoemaker
• Richard Fue Jun ^{t.} of Weadhampton in y ^{e.} County of Wilts Son of Richard ye. Elder
John Brothers of Markett
Lavington in the County of Wilts
in the same County Yeoman
the County of Wilts Mafon
in the County of Wilts Yeoman500
 Edward Brown of Marleborrough in the County of Wilts Yeoman

John Gibbon of Warmnester in the	
County of Wilts Shoemaker500	
William Smith of Broomhamhouse	
in the County of WiltsYeoman	
in the County of Whitsteeman 111111111111111111111111111111111111	[a hole in y ^{e.}
	original CB]
• Samuel Noyes of y ^{e.} Devizes	original Cb]
in the County of Wilts Sergemaker	
Thomas Sogar of Fossham in	
Thomas Sagar of Foseham in the Parish of Christian Melford in the	
County of Wilts Yeoman	
Susannah Bayley of Catcomb The Catcom	
in the Parish of Hill Marton in the same	
County Widdow	
John Buckley Jun'. of Melkysham	
in the County of Wilts Husbandman	
William Withers of Bishops	
Canning in the County of Wilts Yeoman	
XXVI.	
• Coorse Andrews	
• George Andrews	
Jun' of Rowde in the County of Wilts Sergemaker	
• William Shute of Segre in the	
County of Wilts Yeoman	
• Francis Smith of the Devizes	
in the County of Wilts Gent	
• Anne Crawley of Rowde in	1
the County of Wilts Spinster	
Robert Somer of the same	
Place Yeoman	
Robert Stevens of the same	
Place Yeoman	
Thomas Gerrish of Bromham	
in the County of Wilts Clothier500	
William Clowde of Seend	
in the County of Wilts Yeoman	
Oliver Cope of Avebury in the	
County of Wilts Taylor	
• Enock Flower of Corfham in	
the County of Wilts Barber	
John Rebye of Marlborrough	
in the County of Wilts Maulster	1
John Bunce of the same Place	
Maulster	
John Kinsman of Fifel	
in the County of Wilts Yeom500	
William Hitchock of Marlborrow	
in the County of Wilts Maulster	
• William Bezer	
of the Parish of Bishops Canning in	
y ^{e.} County of Wilts Husbandman	
• Thomas Hatt of Goatacre	
in the County of Wilts Cordwinder	
• Thomas Havward	14

• James Hill500
XXVII.
 John Boy of Luckington in the County of Wilts Mercer Jane May of the Devizes in ye. County of Wilts Widow Edward Edwards of Brinkworth in the County of Wilts Yeoman Robert Frame Philip Runing als Rackings William Bayly Henry Barnard John Collett John Collett Edward Jefferyes of Cirencester in ye. County of Glocester Hugh Chamberlain of the City of London Doctor of Phisick John Collett 5000
XXVIII.
 William Lowther Margarett Lowther Jun^{r.} and Anne Charlott Lowther Children of Anthony Lowther of Marske in the County of York Esquire
XXX.
 Laurence Growdon of Trevone in y^e County of Cornwall Gent
XXXI.
William Penn the Younger & Letitia Penn the Children of William Penn Prop ^{r.} & Gov ^{r.}
• Joseph Martin of London Merchant

The present Duty of the Comissioners is to lay out Ten Thousand Acres for a Town in which the Purchasor or Purchasors of every five Thousand acres shall have one hundred acres And that the Town shares be laid out together according to this Catalogue and the Contiguousness of y^c. Counties y^c Purchasors belong to And I do further order that the best part of this Town be laid out for y^c p^{re}sent Purshasors: and [for the Rest] I referr to my Instructions dated y^c Fourteenth of October 1681

Wm. Penn

[Recto, page three, now lost, recorded in 1763:]

William Penn Proprietary and Governour of Penn=fylvania Greeting To his Trusty and well=beloved Friends William Crispin William Haige John Bezer and Nathaniel Allen

These are to Authorize and Appoint you my Commissioners in my name fully and Effectually to act whatever may be Requisite for set= ling the Present Colony Embarquit this Autumn at London and Bristoll for Penn=sylvania and all other adventurers with respect to the Survey and Allottment of every Man his Share according to the Cata=loge of Purchasors and the Instructions that are herewith given to you

For all which this shall be Your sufficient Warrant and authority Given under my Hand and Seal at London in the Kingdom of Eng=land this five and twentieth day of October in y^c. Year of our Lord accord=ing to the English Accompt One

thousand six hundred Eighty and One Wm. Penn (Seal)

> NB. The Original in three pieces of Parch= ment Connected together by a Label On which Label was the Seal at Arms of William Penn ye. late Proprietary of Pennfylvania & ca. The two first Pieces of parchment were each of them divided into four Columns and Numbred as above in y Marginover against ye Beginning of each Paragraph of ye Column next y Margin And where y Co= lumns were not next the Margin over the Top of each Paragraph in Roman Figures as above Beginning with One and Ending with thirty two. The Paragraph or Clause beginning with y^c Words [The present Duty] Signed Wm. Penn was in the fourth Column ofthe Second piece of Parchment and the Rest in thethird Piece of Parchment as above [mark for seal] The whole Recorded the 21st Day of July 1763.

Glossary of Selected Occupations

Source: The Oxford English Dictionary, Second Edition, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989.

Chirurgeon: One whose profession it is to cure bodily diseases and injuries by manual operation; a Surgeon.

Currier: One whose trade is the dressing and coloring of leather after it is tanned.

Farrier: One who shoes horses; a shoeing smith; . . . hence, one who also treats the diseases of horses.

Fellmonger: A dealer in the hides of animals, especially sheepskins.

Glazier: One engaged in the manufacture of glass; a glassmaker.

Glover: A maker and seller of gloves.

Hosier: One who makes or deals in hose (stockings and socks) and frame-knitted or woven underclothing generally.

Joiner: A craftsman whose occupation it is to construct things by joining pieces of wood; a worker in wood who does lighter and more ornamental work than that of a carpenter.

Maulster: Variant spelling of Maltster; one who makes malt; a brewer.

Mealman: One who deals in meal.

Mercer: One who deals in textile fabrics, especially silks, velvets, and other costly materials.

Phisitian: 1. A student of natural science, or of physics. 2. One who practices the healing art, including medicine and surgery.

Roper: One who makes ropes.

Sergemaker: A maker of serge, a durable twilled cloth of worsted, or with the warp of worsted and the woof of wool, extensively used for clothing and for other purposes.

Sope boiler: One who makes soap.

Soder: Variant of Solder. One who solders, or joins metal with lead.

Turner: One who joins or fashions objects of wood, metal, bone, etc., on a lathe.

Woolendraper: A dealer in woolen goods.

Yeoman: A man holding a small landed estate, a freeholder under the rank of a gentleman; hence vaguely a commoner who cultivates his own land.

Biographical Sketches of Five First Purchasers

Principal source: Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania: A Biographical Dictionary, Vol. I, 1682-1709, edited by Craig W. Horle and Marianne S. Wokeck (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991).

Caleb Pusey (c.1651-1728). Caleb Pusey was born about 1651 in Berkshire, England. His father, William Bartholomew, took the surname of Caleb's mother, Pusey, as an alias, probably because the Manor of Pusey in Berkshire had been a prized estate since the Anglo-Saxon period and the Pusey biological male line was dying out. In 1659, Caleb joined a congregation of Baptists but became a Quaker a few years later. In 1672 he wrote a tract defending his new faith as soundly Christian, anticipating the stand he would take against George Keith's criticisms in the 1690s. He moved to London and learned "lastmaking," but in the First Purchaser Catalogue of October 25, 1681 listed his occupation as "glassmaker." In 1681, he married widow Mary Stone Wharley and purchased 250 acres in Pennsylvania from William Penn. Arriving in Pennsylvania by early 1683, he put up two mills on Chester Creek, in Chester County, as a 1/32 partner in a group that included his own father-in-law and William Penn. Due to flood damage and nearby competition, the milling partnership failed, but a new ownership group arose after 1690 that again included Pusey and Penn. Business turned profitable, and in 1705 Pusey was able to buy the majority interest. His initial business problems had not, however, prevented him from immersing himself in Chester County public offices, beginning with appraiser in 1685. He served as a justice from 1698 to 1724. He was an assemblyman in twelve annual sessions between 1686 and 1712, and he was a Provincial Councilor in 1695, 1697, and in those years between 1699 and 1712 when he was not an assemblyman.

In politics Pusey stood generally for Quaker ascendancy and a strong Penn proprietary, and worked against the royal appointees Benjamin Fletcher and William Markham. He approved of Markham's Frame of 1696 because he considered it much like the 1683 Frame of Government. But historian Joseph S. Foster's research has shown that Pusey sometimes wanted Penn to alter his policies. In the chaotic period before Penn's 1699 return to Pennsylvania, Pusey backed the authority of the 1696 Frame, which many others rejected, and pledged loyalty to the royal government and its policies. During Penn's second visit to his colony, 1699-1701, Pusey backed Penn's decisions and approved of the Charter of Privileges of 1701. He approved also of the separation of the lower counties' legislature from the Pennsylvania Assembly. Penn even considered taking Pusey back to England. After Penn left, Pusey joined in opposing David Lloyd's bid for political ascendancy over the government. In 1704, when a breakdown occurred between Gov. John Evans and the House of Representatives, Pusey, as a Provincial Councilor, worked for reconciliation, and as an assemblyman the following year he labored with those who tried to make the Crown-governor-Assembly

system workable. He backed the affirmation bill and sought a solution to Crown disallowances of Pennsylvania statutes. He argued against the House of Representatives' attacks on provincial secretary James Logan and Gov. Charles Gookin, and was a spokesman for appropriating funds for Queen Anne's government even though the money was obviously going for war expenses. Among the statutes he supported was an importation charge on slaves, which acted as a deterrent to the increase of Pennsylvania's slave population. When Penn's supporters recaptured control of the House of Representatives in the 1710 elections, Pusey led initiatives for Penn's policies, including salary for the governor, a £2000 supply for the Crown, and strategies to stalemate David Lloyd.

One of Pusey's lasting contributions was his intellectual leadership of the defense of the existing Quaker system against attacks of George Keith. Briefly, the Keithian schism began with that Quaker minister's proposed reform of church practices, based on his unique interpretations of theological concepts, especially the nature of Christ in the resurrection and the last judgment. A majority of Quaker ministers did not accept these. The disagreement grew into social and political divisions after the preponderance of American Quaker leaders tried different methods to discipline or get rid of Keith. Keith's irascible temper, vicious tongue, and omniscient attitude were a strong contributing factor to the controversy. Although he was not a minister, Pusey's 1696 pamphlet, known by its shortened title, *A Modest Account from Pennsylvania*, was a high point for the anti-Keith side because it was smoothly logical and did not contain exaggerated statements of the sort Keith himself was using. Pusey made Keith's fine-spun theology seem like personal speculation that was not necessary to describe the road to salvation, and he made it appear that Keith had downgraded the Quaker's fundamental principle of the Inner Light.

Pusey's withdrawal from active politics began in 1712. He only occasionally attended Council meetings after that. Around 1721, he wrote the earliest history of Pennsylvania, in which he praised William Penn and the Quakers and condemned Keith. It was never published, but the manuscript and his related papers were used by Samuel Smith of New Jersey and Robert Proud in their histories of Pennsylvania, written in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

On several occasions between 1683 and 1721 Pusey gave wise council in order to smooth relations with Native American groups. In August 1716, he was among a group of Chester County Quakers who petitioned for an absolute prohibition on buying or importing black slaves.

Today, the Caleb Pusey House in Upland, Chester County, preserves his memory.

Dr. Thomas Wynne (1627-1692). Born in Caerwys, Flintshire, Wales, he was setting fractures by his tenth birthday, and he later learned to be a surgeon and physician by working with established physicians in Shropshire (the county of Salop). Necessity led him to also become a cooper, and he had an early association with ale manufacture and

perhaps its sale. In Pennsylvania he often sided with those favoring sale of liquor, which may have been consistent with contemporary attitudes of physicians. He married a Quaker and embraced her faith, apparently under the guidance of John ap John, the leading Quaker founder in Wales. In 1661 he was imprisoned for six years for religious activities, followed by other incidents of religious suffering in the years up to 1681. In 1677, his pamphlet, The Antiquity of the Quakers, justified to Welsh readers the religious roots of the Society of Friends. In 1682 he joined others in an unsuccessful plea to Crown officials for the release of a group of Quakers imprisoned in Bristol. In 1681, he and John ap John purchased five thousand acres in Pennsylvania, and he sailed in August 1682 with William Penn on the Welcome. His second wife and most of his children and stepchildren accompanied them; John ap John never came to America. Wynne attended smallpox victims on the voyage. Despite heavy involvement in politics in Pennsylvania and the Lower Counties, the doctor practiced physic and surgery on occasions. He resided on lots in Philadelphia at first, but took title to 1,850 of the 2,500 acres of his share of the five thousand-acre First Purchase. Philadelphia's Chestnut Street was originally named Wynne Street. He represented Philadelphia County in the Assemblies of 1682 and 1683, serving as speaker and persuading members to observe customary parliamentary rules of order. In 1684 he was among a group of Philadelphians chastened by the Provincial Council for submitting a petition that expressed contempt for the government. The ringleader, Arthur Weston, was publicly whipped, and Wynne and the others were forced to place bond to guarantee their future good behavior. Unfortunately, the content of the petition has never been revealed. Wynne sold liquor on a retail basis, was fined for doing it without a license, and several times objected to proposed taxes on the liquor business. He returned to Britain in 1684, remaining into the summer of 1685 because his daughter Tabitha and her paramour were embezzling his Welsh properties. On this trip, he was imprisoned in London for three months for attending the funeral of another Quaker. On return to Pennsylvania he sold his Pennsylvania land, which was in Philadelphia and Chester County, and bought property on Cedar Creek in Sussex County and in Lewes. He was a justice of the peace in Sussex County from 1687 to 1691, and performed the duties in an outrageously obstinate and uncooperative manner. He denied the authority of the entire panel of justices, after William and Mary took the throne, on the rationale that commissions from the previous sovereign were invalid. In 1688, he also served in the Assembly, a session noted for its repeated, though unsuccessful, attempts to win the right to initiate legislation and other privileges from the Governor and Council. He also became a Provincial Court judge in 1690 and served until his death. He may have moved back to Philadelphia in 1691. At any rate, in January 1692 he was on a committee of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting to decide whether to publish a work written by George Keith, the founder of a schism within American Quakerism. Wynne approved the publication, and eighteen days before his death joined with forty-two other Philadelphia Quakers in a statement of their reasons for supporting Keith's views.

In taking this stand they defied the preponderance of the Society of Friends in America.

In his will, Dr. Wynne divided much of his property between his eldest son and his widow. The rest was divided among five other children living in America. Tabitha, in Wales, was left only fifty shillings and a pithy remark. His estate included one indentured servant and three slaves.

John Parsons (? -1705). This carpenter came from Middlezoy Parish in Somersetshire, was the son of another Quaker, John Parsons, who had suffered imprisonment for attending Quaker services of the South Somerset Monthly Meeting and refusing to pay tithes to the Anglican Church. The carpenter John Parsons made a first purchase of five hundred acres jointly with a Quaker joiner from Bridgewater, Abraham Hooper. John delayed over a year before emigrating, arriving in Pennsylvania in April 1683. Although he took up his 250 acres in Bucks County, near the Falls of the Delaware, he never lived there and sold that property by 1701. Parsons never engaged in rural enterprises and always resided in Philadelphia. He lived on his lot at Second and Walnut Streets and derived his income largely from carpentry. In 1703 he was criticized by a grand jury for piling up so much lumber in the street near his lot that it could not be used as a thoroughfare. His brother, Thomas Parsons, operated one of the first mills in Pennsylvania, located on Frankford Creek. John returned to England in 1685 and married Anne Powell at Somerset Quarterly Meeting that summer. Then he returned to Philadelphia with her. He was very active in the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, especially in matters dealing with its physical plant. He was increasingly called on to help make decisions for the meeting. In 1692 he joined in criticisms of the schism led by George Keith. Beginning in 1684, he signed several petitions to William Penn asking that changes be made in various policies. He was a member of the Assembly in 1700 and joined with those who petitioned Penn for a new frame of government, a charter of property, and land reforms, but he was not a consistent opponent of the proprietary interests. In 1701 Penn appointed him a regulator of the streets and watercourses of Philadelphia and a member of the Philadelphia Common Council. His considerable personal wealth made him a likely candidate for those appointments. As a common councilor he was entrusted with responsibility for verifying the receipts and disbursements of the City Corporation between 1701 and 1705. He died unexpectedly on the night of August 18, 1705, as a result of an obstruction in his throat.

Having no children, his estate was divided among his widow, his brother, and nieces and nephews. It included a slave valued at £55 and a white servant, indentured for four more years, who was valued at £12.

Griffith Jones (? - 1712). The pattern of experiences of this first purchaser is one of gradual alienation from Quaker society and of increasingly contrary political activity. Coming from a Welsh background, Jones, by 1670, was a resident of Bermondsey, a

hundred in Surrey County, close to London, recognized for its manufacturing. He belonged to Horsleydown Monthly Meeting and to the Meeting for Sufferings, a type of legal defense organization to assist persecuted Quakers. He himself had been imprisoned in 1677 with a group of Quakers who would not pay for rebuilding the local Anglican church and would not swear the required oath when brought before the Bishop of London's court. He was also arrested for preaching in Bristol in 1682. Personal tragedies had befallen him, the deaths of his first wife and three of the four children of his second wife. But he was wealthy enough to buy rights to five thousand acres in the First Purchase and send 15,000 bricks to Philadelphia to build a house. His second bride had brought a dower of £700. Arriving in August 1682, Jones acquired large land holdings quickly, purchasing far more than his First Purchase five thousand acres and its accompanying city lots. He gained wealth by buying and selling lands and from rents, in the City, all three Pennsylvania counties, and in Sussex and, especially, Kent Counties in the Lower Counties of Delaware. He also owned at least four thousand acres in West Jersey. But by 1690 his personal behavior had seriously damaged his reputation. Selling liquor in his home without license, confessing publicly to drunkenness, and writing a disrespectful letter to the Council were episodes of his first two years. He bought the city's only tavern, the Blue Anchor, in 1684, and lived there a while with his family. In 1690 he sold it, but his repeated failures to fulfill business obligations made more enemies and his harsh tongue, exhibited when defending himself, caused him to be banned (although not completely disowned) from Philadelphia Monthly and Quarterly Meetings. Although living in Philadelphia, he represented Kent County in the Provincial Council; with his bad reputation he could not have been elected in Philadelphia. In the Council, he took the unpopular stand of supporting Governor John Blackwell's policies. Once Blackwell had departed, Jones opposed negotiating with House Speaker John White who wanted the Proprietor to give the Assembly the power to amend or repeal statutes. Jones signed a warrant for White's arrest, but the weight of the parliamentary tradition of legislators' immunity from prosecution forced the Council to abandon punishing White. In March 1691, Jones acknowledged supporting the principles of George Keith's schism within Quakerism. He managed to place himself further away from majority opinion by praising the royal governmental authority of Benjamin Fletcher, which replaced William Penn's proprietary political authority from 1693 until early 1695. Fletcher appointed Jones to his Council. During the subsequent administration of William Markham, Jones objected to the 1696 Frame (Markham's Frame). He participated in an abortive, spontaneous attempt to elect an Assembly under the 1683 Frame, which he argued should have been reinstalled when Fletcher had left. He was elected to the first Assembly of 1700 and led the fight to have the 1696 Frame set aside, but he was in neither the Assembly nor the Council when the Charter of 1701 was adopted.

Back in the Assembly representing Kent County in 1702-1703, and 1706-1709, Jones used all his influence against the power of the Proprietor, allying himself with the

ambitious David Lloyd and favoring the impeachment of Penn's provincial secretary, James Logan. In 1704-1705, Jones was Mayor of Philadelphia, and ironically his administration there earned the praise of both Logan and Penn. He revived the night watch and he stopped the Philadelphia County justices from interfering in City affairs. Automatically an alderman for life because he had been mayor, Jones attended every Common Council meetings until his death. In 1710, the friends of the proprietary interests recaptured a majority in the House of Representatives, and Jones never again sat in the Assembly.

In 1692, Jones had opted to join the Keithian schism, which increased his general unpopularity. In 1698, he attempted reconciliation with the Friends by repudiating his Keithian stand. But his final break with Quakerism came some time before September 1708. Philadelphia Monthly Meeting disowned his surviving son, Joseph, for many "attempts of the unnatural use of Man." Jones bribed Governor John Evans with £80 to pardon Joseph from any criminal prosecution. When Penn learned of the bribe, in September 1708, it became his principal reason for replacing Evans with Governor Charles Gookin.

Upon Jones's death in 1712, James Logan remarked that he had even cheated, in his will, his third wife, the widow of another Quaker, Patrick Robinson, because he left her with far less than the Robinson wealth she had given him when they had married.

Alexander Beardsley (? - 1697). This first purchaser was a glover—one who made or sold gloves-from Worcester, in Worcestershire. He had been imprisoned for participating in an unlawful assembly in 1670, suggesting a strong Society of Friends background. In late summer 1683, he and his family sailed to Pennsylvania with his fellow Worcester glover, fifty-seven-year-old Francis Fincher, and a third glover, Seemercy Adams. Fincher, who was by far the most active of the three in Quaker affairs, had purchased 1,000 acres, twice as much as Beardsley, and threw himself immediately into controversies over how the new colony should be run. But Fincher died accidentally by drowning only eight months after arriving. Beardsley's income was derived from the sale of general dry goods, a myriad of mostly imported items the new society needed not just gloves. He had no desire to live in the country, and he had immediately sold his five hundred-acre claim to Fincher. His original city lot was on the Schuylkill River, but he soon sold that and moved to Delaware Front Street, the center of the commercial life of the City. He became active in the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, serving to clear, or approve, Quaker couples who wanted to marry, to mediate disputes between members, and to collect money to build a meetinghouse. Eventually, he served as a trustee and became the treasurer. Beardsley's signature appeared on several documents condemning the actions and views of George Keith, and he was on a grand jury that presented Keith for defaming two Quakers who had criticized the Keithian beliefs. In 1696, he was among twenty Quakers who wrote King William III asking him to refute Anglican criticisms about Quaker domination of the government of Pennsylvania.

Beardsley was chosen to be a Philadelphia Common Councilor under the aborted City Charter of 1691, and in 1693 he was on a three-man committee to construct a sewer running along Front Street from Chestnut to Walnut Street. He was elected to the Assembly in 1695, probably because the voters knew he would support Quaker interests if and when a new frame of government was imposed. The debate over a new frame was stalemated during that session of the Assembly, however. After his death, an inventory of his shop goods proved that most of his wealth was in items he had bought for resale. His brick house on Front Street was left to his widow for life with a remainder interest to his eldest grandson.

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